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852 There is a ceremony held over a child when it just begins to walk. . . . . Men and women who know how may carry on this ceremony for the child. They get [787] the power through Child of the Water [the culture hero].[4] It is done to keep the [776] child healthy and strong, and because Child of the Water, when he started to walk, had a ceremony like this one.

[574] The family . . . . has to have a lot of meat and fruit ready. A feast is announced just like the one held at the girl's puberty rite. Many are invited. When a boy goes through this ceremony, they call him Child of the Water. When a [776] girl goes through it, they call her White Painted Woman [the mother of the culture hero]. Every child should go through it.

When my son first began to walk, he had a good ceremony. T. and Old Man D. carried it out. They had power from Child of the Water.

[292] D. directed my wife in the making of the buckskin outfit. It has to be made [531] from the skin of a black-tailed buck for a boy. In D.'s ceremony just a shirt and moccasins are made for the boy. For a girl the outfit has to be made from the skin of a black-tailed doe. Crescents and stars and crosses were the designs. The same designs are used on the girl's clothes when the ceremony is for a girl.

[821] They wait for the new or the full moon before beginning this ceremony. This time they waited for the new moon. They start just as early as they can. Early in the morning many came to the place where I lived. We had plenty there [431] for them to eat. We had presents for everyone, too—fruit and tobacco and other things. J. B. helped me with this because he wanted the ceremony held. He is a relative on my wife's side. My father-in-law brought some of these things too, and his sisters helped also. My wife's sisters helped with the cooking.

[526] They had a big hoop-and-pole game[5] going there too. P. and others who knew the ceremony well were off playing this game while they waited for the feast that was to follow.

[788] After some prayers T. marked everyone with pollen. He put some on the head and above the nose of both men and women, the way they do at the girl's puberty rite. This was done just before sunup. At sunrise he took the boy and lifted him toward the east, raising him four times. He did the same to the south and the west and the north. Then he set him down.

852 With pollen he made footprints on a piece of white buckskin just as White 788 Painted Women made them in the story of the killing of the monsters. We took 801 the boy. I was holding him on one side, and T. was on the other. We led him [773] through these footprints. T. said a prayer about Child of the Water and his first step just as the boy took the first step. He said another prayer for the second step and went on until four prayers and four steps were over. Then the boy took four steps by himself. As he did so, they said, "May he have good fortune." Now we turned the boy clockwise and brought him back, and he walked the four steps in the same way again. Four times we walked him like this. Then we

[4] Actually the rite can be obtained through other sources as well.

[5] For a description of the game see pp. 448–50.

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The girls see that at home the mother has a cradle and is carrying a baby around. So they play mother sometimes with an Indian doll and cradle made by their mothers. The girls carry the cradles on their backs as their mothers do. And the boys pick up their little arrows and hunt birds just as if they were hunting deer. All the Indian children play just the way their parents live at home. The children build little brush homes. 857 867 868

In this domestic play no overt sexuality is involved. The simulation of the husband-wife relationship is confined to an imitation of the industrial pursuits of the adults. The absence of more direct sexual experimentation is to be explained, doubtless, by the fact that boys rarely continue to participate in this form of amusement after the age of six or seven. It is then that little boys become eager to join older male companions in hunts for small birds and mammals and to engage in play not considered appropriate for girls. This pleasure in manly affairs is strongly encouraged by the elders. From the exciting hunts, arrow games, and mimic battles of childhood the boy plunges into the rigors of his training period. Thus he is absorbed in masculine concerns and diverted from contacts with girls until the onset of physiological maturity again awakens him to an interest in them. 857 858 868 [867]

Besides playing in the brush houses built for daytime games, the boys sometimes construct beds in trees for "camping out" at night. 857 513

You find a forked branch in a tree right by your camp. It should not be too high; you want a place close to the ground. You can put cross-branches there and fix it up nicely. Then you can sleep there. The boys did it mostly. I used to do it. We did it in the summertime, just because we liked it, because we liked the fresh air.

For the grown man the hoop-and-pole ground, from which the women are barred, is a favorite retreat where things strictly masculine are discussed. To play the hoop-and-pole game, two men slide poles after a hoop; the object is to make the hoop fall upon the butt end of the pole. Pole and hoop are marked with incised bands, and, according to the relationship of these bands after the throw, a count is made. The game has definite ceremonial overtones. It is well for a man to be an expert player, for lively betting attends every contest. Boys are eager to learn this game: 526 [562] [525] [868] [857]

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526 868 857 It is dangerous to make the hoop and pole unless you know how. Not everyone can do it, though there are many who have the right. . . . . Suppose a man knows how to do it. He will be making hoop-and-pole sets for all the men. I am a little boy there, let us say, and he is very kind to me. So I beg him to make a set for us boys, a little one.

He goes ahead and does it, does it with his own ceremony in such a way that it will not harm me. He doesn't want it to harm the children with whom I play either, and so he makes it in a ceremonial way. I suppose he prays over it, but I never watch him. He makes a little one, just the same as the regular ones, only smaller. When he hands it to me, he says, "All right, now you can play with this."

[562] The men take their hoop-and-pole sets out where there is level ground and play there, far from the women. The women know about it and won't go over there. The children never go around the regular grounds either. Even when the men are not playing, the little boys do not go around there. When the little boys play at their hoop-and-pole game, the girls have to keep away.

When a man makes a set for little boys, he instructs them in the rules for counting and keeping score. The men like to watch the little boys playing. Many men will go over where the small boys are playing and stand in groups and watch. Some men count for each side, and all the boys stand there taking lessons.

[525] When the men direct the boys in this game, they tell them it is a gambling game. They say, "If you get to be an expert in this, when you get to manhood you can win horses, weapons, everything."

868 526 857 As soon as the boy is provided with a bow and arrows he spends a great deal of time gaining accuracy in handling them. Arrow games are an effective means to this end, and the boy has a variety of them from which to choose. "You are there all day long. Sometimes you don't care to eat, you are so interested."

[825] [411] The arrows used in play "are just common ones made with any feathers—bluebird feathers, flicker feathers, feathers from any kind of bird the size of a robin or larger. Some of them are well made; you can shoot big animals with them if you have a good bow. They put three feathers on the shaft."

The simplest form of arrow game is shooting for distance, the winner collecting the arrows of his outdistanced playmates. Shooting for accuracy takes a number of forms. In one game a boy shoots his arrow into a bank, and his companion shoots after him, trying to touch or "cross" the arrow of the first boy. Should he succeed, he takes both arrows, and the loser has to send an-

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other arrow into the bank as a target. When the one who is shooting misses, he must offer one of his arrows as the target.

The youngsters play their games shrewdly:

I have about five arrows and my bow. A boy of my age asks me to play. He has a bunch of arrows too. He is good at playing this arrow game. Of course he wants my arrows. "All right," I say, "how do you want to play?"

About fifty feet apart stand two banks with a hollow between. He says, "You have more arrows than I have; you shoot first. Shoot your arrow from that bank into the other bank." We decide who should shoot first. Maybe he shoots first and his arrow sticks in the bank over there. Then I shoot. I try to shoot so that my arrow crosses or touches his. Sometimes there is a dispute. He says, "It doesn't touch!" and I say, "It does!" We try to look between the arrows and get down under them to see if they touch. But pretty soon we settle it. When I cross or touch his arrow, I walk over there and take it. He shoots another arrow, and I shoot and get it again. I begin to stick my arrows in the ground.

I always use one arrow, my best arrow, to cross his. All arrows don't shoot well, and so I use my good arrow to get his arrows. Pretty soon I miss. So it is my turn to shoot into the bank and let him try for my arrows. I take the worst arrow I have, so if he gets it, I will not lose much.

The game keeps up until one fellow gets all the arrows or we get tired.

In another shooting contest the first arrow is shot in such a way that it will stick in the ground when it falls. This arrow can be won only when its feathers are touched by those of a second arrow.

Boys also shoot at a target of twisted grass. The one who hits the target throws it up and tries to pierce it with an arrow before it touches the ground. If he does this twice in succession, he earns the arrows that others have unsuccessfully shot at the target. Again there are a number of modifications of this particular game. One variant is to make a target of yucca or other material, leaving a central hole. The boys attempt to shoot their arrows through the hole. The one who first succeeds in doing so a specified number of times wins whatever has been bet.

Another pastime is the "sliding arrow game." Here the arrow is slid by hand along the ground, point foremost, at any level place. The object is to touch the feathers of an arrow with the feathers of a second arrow which is slid after it. This game develops a steady hand and a good judgment of distance.

A game like blindman's buff is played with an arrow as the

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526 prize. Someone is blindfolded, and an arrow is stuck in the ground far from him. If he finds the arrow, he is allowed to retain it. "They sometimes stick several arrows in the ground. If he finds one, all the rest belong to him."

524 Children play a game that may be likened to "heads and tails," using a bone with sides distinguished from each other by shape or color. Sometimes the bone is spit upon and the sides are called "wet" and "dry." If the side he has named shows uppermost, the player in possession of the bone wins the throw and retains the bone. Otherwise the bone changes hands. Today the [178 4 1/2] game is played with a metal knife that has a handle rough on one side and smooth on the other.

526 In an exciting ball game a member of one side throws a buckskin ball to a member of the opposition who is standing with his team mates in a large circle or safety zone. This individual hits the ball with his hand, and he or one of his team mates must then run to another safety zone some distance away. The side of the thrower tries to retrieve the ball and hit the runner with it before he reaches the other circle. Should the runner be struck, his opponents make a rush for the safety zones, while he and his helpers try to recover the ball and strike one of the other team with it before he gains the circle. After the exchange, when the "ins" and "outs" are decided, the round of pitching and batting starts again.

524 The boys sometimes make clay marbles and dry them in the sun or near the fire, but often round stones are used instead. In one marble game a row of holes is scooped out. The order of play is determined by seeing who can roll a marble closest to a line. The object of the game is to roll the marble into each of the holes. A successful play for the first hole entitles the player to try for the second. When the row of holes has been traversed, the player must play in the opposite direction and come back to the starting-point. The first one to accomplish this is the winner. Instead of throwing directly toward a hole, a player is entitled to try to knock a competitor out of the way. If he strikes the marble at which he aims, he is allowed another throw for the hole.

Another marble game calls for four players, sitting around a

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hollow square, one on each side of it. Two teams are involved. 524
Partners sit across from each other. A member of one side places a marble in the center. A player of the opposition tries to knock this away with one of his own. Should he succeed, his partner retrieves both marbles, and his opponent must place another at the center as a target. As long as this central marble is knocked away, it must be replaced by the side furnishing it. When a player misses, he substitutes a marble of his own, and the game continues.

Hide-and-seek, tag, foot races, tug-of-war, and wrestling con- 526 •
tests are all popular. To begin a wrestling match, the rivals clasp each other around the waist. At a signal each tries to down his opponent. Almost anything is permissible, tripping included. If one wrestler is off his feet, no matter which part of his body touches the ground, and the other is still standing, the match is over.

Little girls are skilful at a game comparable to jackstones. 524
"Four or five girls from about seven to fourteen years of age usually play together." One way of playing is called "those which pass each other again and again." Four stones are juggled while the girls walk along until a certain mark is reached. In another type of "rock game" an attempt is made to pick up four stones successively with one hand and put them on the back of the other while a fifth stone is repeatedly thrown in the air. The stones are arranged in a row on the knuckles, starting from the right and going to the left until each of the four knuckles is covered. "Throwing between fingers" describes a variant in which the stones are put, one by one, between the fingers, while the fifth stone is tossed up. Next the palm is turned up, and the stones are removed one by one. Another way is to cup the palm and put the stones in it, one at a time. Although these games with the stones are typically girls' pastimes, little boys occasionally play them too.

Boys whip a pointed wooden top with a sinew string. The making of cat's cradles or string figures furnishes year-round recreation for young and old of both sexes. There are many forms of these figures. One, after great elaboration, comes to a

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524 surprise ending by collapsing completely. Another represents the bow, and still another a house.

857 The children seldom attempt such adult pastimes as shinny,
• 526 the stave games, and the moccasin game. They watch their elders play them, however, and become conversant with the principles involved.

THE CHILD AND HIS KIN

602 The social world to which the child is first introduced consists of a well-organized group of kin. The significant events of his life will be planned and made possible by his blood relatives.
[627] Should a person be wronged, his relatives act for him and with him; should he be accused, they shield him from vengeance. If a man dies with grievances unavenged, his relatives perpetuate his
[764] quarrel in a feud between families. It is they who have the responsibility of his death rites and who mourn for him.
[611] Kinship is counted bilaterally, through the mother and through the father equally.[10] It is impossible to get any convincing assurance that one kind of relative is necessarily "closer" than another. The expressions on this point seem to be reflections of personal feelings rather than instances of the operation of any rule.

All blood relatives are supposed to be generous and loyal, and, in times of crisis, the appeal of a blood-relative of any degree is difficult to ignore. Nevertheless, differences of age, sex, residence, and remoteness of connection become inevitably registered in patterns of behavior.

593 *The parent-child relationship.*—The parents take primary responsibility for the support, proper rearing, and ceremonial protection of their children. The influence of the child-parent bond is present in many forms of behavior. A man often begs for supernatural power, for "something to live by," because of the
[782] need of his children. One who makes a request for help, material or spiritual, greatly strengthens his plea if he supplicates in the

[10] For the kinship terms and a diagram of the kinship system see the Appendix.

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But

no amount of good advice will prepare a youth for hunting and raiding unless he reaches a high point of physical fitness. At first it is the members of the immediate family who urge the boy to undertake special exercises. Such pressure begins when the boy is anywhere from eight to twelve years old, depending on his size and the attitudes of the members of his family.

868 857 526 751 866

Now the next thing [after learning to hunt] was getting up before daylight. My father said, "Be up; be up before daylight and run up the mountain. Run to the top of that mountain and back before daylight. You must do it, and I'm going to make you do it. It will be better for you to do it in your own way, but if you don't, I'll force you to do it."

I asked, "What if the clown should see me? Is he everywhere?"

"My son, that time the clown frightened you it was only I dressed up. You were a little boy at that time. You would not obey. There is nothing to be afraid of. That is the way little children are made to mind. Now you are big enough to handle a bow and arrows. Now I am going to train you so that when you get to be a few years older you will be almost as good as any man. Your mind will be well developed. Your legs will be developed so nobody can outrun you. You will be able to keep up with others when you are running long distances. Getting up early in the morning, running to the top of that hill and back will give you a strong mind, a strong heart, and a strong body."

Physical fitness is considered by some parents even more vital for survival than the assistance of relatives.

If my son is strong, when he is about eight or ten years old I must give him his lesson. It's like breaking in a mule. . . . . He must get up before sunrise.

The father talks to his son. "My son, you know no one will help you in this world. You must do something. You run to that mountain and come back. That will make you strong. My son, you know no one is your friend, not even your sister, your father, or your mother. Your legs are your friends; your brain is your friend; your eyesight is your friend; your hair is your friend; your hands are your friends; you must do something with them. When you grow up you live with these things and think about it.

826

"Some day you will be with people who are starving. You will have to get something for them. If you go somewhere, you must beat the enemy who are attacking you before they get over the hill [i.e., escape]. Before they beat you, you must get in front of them [i.e., beat them] and bring them back dead. Then all the people will be proud of you. Then you are the only man. Then all the people will talk about you. That is why I talk to you in this way. If you do all these things and you stay among the people, they will all like you—your brother, your sister, your uncle. All the camps will talk about you. They will call my name and say my son is fine and does good work. Then we will be proud of you. If you are lazy, the people will hate you."

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866 868 857 526 751 Soon the boy is requested to care for the horses. He is told that he should carry a pack on his back while he is running. To prove his endurance, he may be ordered to stay awake continuously for a day and a night or even longer. An inevitable incident of this training period is the icy morning plunge.

There was a creek deep enough for a boy to jump in. In the fall of the year the water was frozen a little. The creek was about a mile away. My father said, "Son, get up, and before you build a fire, take everything off except your breechcloth, run to that creek, and jump in the water. If the ice is thin enough, you jump in so it will not cut you. Go ahead! Jump in!"

Many boys used to put water on their heads and make believe they had jumped in. And some of the boys used to throw water over themselves before they went in, but their parents would find it out. If a boy wouldn't do it, his [861] father would get a whip, call the boy to him, and say, "You go over and jump in!" So the boy would go to escape a whipping.

Afterward we would come back soaking wet, but we were not allowed to come up to the fire. We just had to take a covering and wrap it around ourselves.

868 865 857 526 751 Nor does this exhaust the ingenuity of those in charge of the boy:

There is a small tree. My father takes me out there. He says, "Fight that tree!" I go over there and hit the tree with both hands. Perhaps it hurts and I will have sore hands the next day. Then there is a tree with a limb about as big as my arm sticking out just about high enough for me to jump and catch it. My father says, "Break that limb." And he is standing there watching me fight it. Some limbs are pretty hard to break, but he is going to stand there until I break it.

A variation of this type of strenuous exercise is to have the boy uproot small trees or pull long poles from the ground.

868 857 526 One of the devices of winter training is to send the boy out early in the morning to roll a ball of snow. He is told to push it until he is called.

868 857 866 As the youth progresses in his training, guard and scout duties fall to his lot:

If older men are going away, they leave a young man to watch camp and guard the women and children. They say to him, "Camp up high. Get up early. Go up on a hill and watch. Go out and hide in the brush and look for tracks." That's what they told me.

They told me, "Don't eat too much in the day. Eat just enough so that you keep your strength. If you eat too much, you won't be able to run. But in the

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At the conclusion of the training period, some boys, to insure their competence in horsemanship, are brought to shamans who perform ceremonies for them originating in supernatural experiences with Bat; for the bat, because of its habit of clinging to objects, is associated with riding ability.

Sweat-bathing is utilized as an aid to fleetness: "Sometimes boys are put in a sweat lodge to make them good runners. They come out and run for about a mile; then they go in again if they wish. It makes them longwinded." In another account it is said that the young men emerge from the sweat lodge and run "while they are still warm." "If a man is training for running, he should keep away from women and should not drink or smoke." However, there is no taboo on the presence of women where youths are practicing running.

As the boy's training advances, the circle of those who are interested in his progress steadily enlarges.

I was a small boy, about nine years old, when I saw this. I remember it well. Many boys in my time saw what I'm going to tell you about. It was just before Geronimo's last war, about 1884 or 1885.

Old Man C. had an orphan boy. He was rearing and training that boy. He had taught him how to ride well. The boy was about fifteen or sixteen years old and was well trained as a warrior. He knew how to shoot an arrow, how to use a sling, how to shoot with guns. He was a good hunter; he could shoot deer. He was as good as the average man, though he was just a young boy.

One man had made tiswin [a weak beer made of maize]. C. went to a crowd of men who were drinking. He said, "I've got a boy. I am his uncle. The boy can ride any horse bareback without a rope on it."

"Well," one man said, "we all like to see things like that. We will bet you two big jars of tiswin. You get that boy; let him ride down that steep hill bareback."

In those days one jar of tiswin was worth a horse, and a horse was very hard to get. That much tiswin was worth a belt and cartridges, or a gun and belt. Guns were hard to get in those days too. So C. told the man, "Give your horse to him. Any side of the hill you want to have him ride is all right."

Nobody knew then that this boy was so well trained. C. had been out training him somewhere away from the rest of the people. The man took the bronco on the side of the hill, and the boy was called over there. The horse had a rope on but no saddle.

Just as soon as C. spoke, the boy would do what he said, whether it was dangerous or not. That boy rode the horse down the hill just like nothing! The horse pitched all around with him but could not shake him off. So C. got the tiswin, and he was drinking and got feeling good.

In those days the warriors never went without their guns. They always car-

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868 ried their guns and belt no matter how close they were to camp. Awake or asleep
526 they were never without their guns. After this ride C. wanted to show those
866 people just how he had trained his boy. They were on the sandy side of the hill. Nobody was on that hill.

C. told the boy, "Take your shirt off so that you'll have no excuse of something to trip over." All the men watched from the side. C. told the boy to stand on a gentle slope. He stood about fifty feet away from the boy.

C. took his gun and put cartridges in it. He is a sharpshooter; he shoots from the hip. He said, "All right, you start! You go down there."

The boy began to dodge and run. C. began to shoot. You could see the dust flying all around that boy, but he didn't get hit!

The boy is constantly reminded that this training must serve him for the raid and warfare situations which he will face.

The parents and grandparents all advise the boy. They tell him to run up hills so that in emergencies he can get along by himself, for in wartime, they tell him, nobody will go back for him, and he must keep up.

[867] They advise the boys that in case of war they should have a strong feeling that they will overcome the enemy; they tell the boy that the enemy is as frightened as he is; and that, if he puts on a brave front and charges, the enemy may run. And they tell the boys that, after coming home from a successful
[626] battle, their relatives and friends will be proud of them. Cowards are talked
[581] about, told nasty things before their faces, and are in disgrace. A girl would not
[577] marry a lazy or cowardly man because the women say he wouldn't be a good provider. The boys know all this.

As time goes on group tactics assume increasing importance in the physical education of the novice. Where there are a number of boys of the proper age in the local group, they are brought together frequently for the training tasks.

Suppose I have a boy in the group. I give him equipment and tell him to go out there. The boys line up, ready to run. Maybe two men go along and see that the boys don't stop running. Then along comes a man with water in a little container and says, "Take a mouthful, but don't swallow it; hold it in your mouth. You are going to run four miles with this water in your mouth."

They all start out, not running full speed, but trotting. When they come back they are inspected. Each man inspects his boy to see if he still has the water in his mouth. He says, "All right, spit that water out." If the boy swallows the water on the way, the trainers see that he doesn't do it a second time.

868 Now one old man from the group of camps [extended family] might say, "I
865 have a fine boy. He is hard to beat." Then perhaps my father would say, "I
526 have a good boy. Bring your boy in." In they come. Everybody is around. The other boys who are novices are there too, waiting. They match these two, and

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the fighting begins. Maybe they are both crying. They fight until they bleed, until one of the boys says, "Enough!" Then he is whipped.

Then another day is set. A different boy is matched with the one who won the first fight. When it comes to one of these fellows, they tell him, "Well, it is your turn to fight him now." I have seen some poor boys who had to fight the winner, cry before they got out. Before they started they knew they were going to be beaten, but they had to go through with it whether they were good fighters or not.

Then they take eight boys, all of about the same size and with about the same amount of training and give them slings. They take them to a flat place where there are many stones and where all of them can see each other. The trainer says, "All right, four of you boys go on the other side, four stay on this side. This is going to make you quick; this is to develop you in speed."

They have to pick up the stones and sling them at each other, one side against the other. They have to learn to duck and dodge and keep from being hit. They are taught to throw at each other and to hit each other. If a stone hits you in the head, you are gone; if it hits you in the arm, it may break a bone. You have to jump aside and dodge in order not to get hurt. C. has a scar over his eye from a sling fight of this kind.

After so much sling-fighting they are beginning to be a little like warriors. Next they make small bows and arrows. The boys divide into equal sides again and take their places about fifty feet apart. They use small arrows; but, if these arrows hit you, they stick into you. They are of wood, sharp pointed. The trainer says, "All right, you boys go out there and fight." And I tell you they have fun too! They hardly ever hit each other. But I remember one boy in the crowd at Carlisle who had been shot in the eye, and it put his eye out. [411]

Then they take them out again. They have the boys race without any water in their mouths and without carrying anything, in order to see which are the best two runners. Maybe they run to a little tree, around it and back again, about 800 paces. The next day they run about a mile around another tree. A man on horseback follows on each side. They try that twice to see who can run. Then they select two boys. They cut two switches, each about three feet long, and give them to these good runners. These two run ahead as usual and they whip the last boy in. 868 526

A mimic contest in which stones are parried with round shields is described and also wrestling matches in which "the idea is to throw an opponent down before you get hit or kicked." 868 865 526

The boys are anything but docile, even in regard to their trainers: "Sometimes when they have an older person to run along during racing to lash those who lag behind, one or two boys jump on him and struggle with him. This gives the others a chance to get far enough ahead so they won't be bothered."

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868 526 492 Practice in handling and riding horses under all conditions is a regular part of the training. The boy is taught to ride bareback, to control the horse with only a rope around its nose, and to ride down a steep incline, picking up objects from the ground as he goes. He is also judged as he rides full speed toward a barrier and tries to halt his horse just before reaching it, or jumps the horse over hurdles.

868 526 [866] One of the last activities of this phase of the training is a cross-country run. The route that is to be covered is laid out. There are no long halts, and the boys try to refrain from eating for the two days of this journey. Not until the afternoon of the second day may they kill animals for food. The boys do not sleep until the race is over. A variation is to make a group of boys walk all night to see if they can withstand fatigue.

868 554 866 The boys who achieve a position of superiority during this training period rise to pre-eminence in their age group. The tasks which lie ahead are close enough in spirit to those in which they have already excelled so that their futures are reasonably assured. The foundations of status recognitions are laid in the training period, therefore.

593 152 577 828 [868] Paternal affection is reinterpreted when the training period begins. No longer is it indulgence. "Because a Chiricahua parent loves his child," he insists upon duties which are often painful, for in his opinion this is the only way "his son will eventually make a living." There is no rancor involved; certainly no conscious cruelty or sadism.

152 156 577 828 This attitude penetrates deeply to the core of all response and behavior. Demonstrativeness is considered unbecoming; what cannot be translated into action need not be protested. Since stoicism and strength are underlined, displays of personal consideration and "softness" must be repressed. Only at times of crisis and of great grief, in appeals to the supernatural, or during mourning do the people permit the emotions full expression.

868 869 The girl's destiny as a dutiful wife is made very clear to her while she is still a child. The father may say, "We want to rear you well so people won't talk about us; we want to get something out of your marriage, so we want to take care of you."

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Women school the girls in obedience "so that their husbands won't hear saucy words from them." 867

The girl's training is less formalized than that of the boy. It amounts to a greater and greater association with the duties of her mother, older sisters, and other female relatives, until she attains adult standards in the quality of work she can perform. 868

At this time, when the little girl is first learning to do women's work, her hair is done up in the style worn by young women: 868 302

> In the old days the young woman had her hair done up. She took it in one bunch and wrapped it up in back. Then she put a hair ornament on, and it covered the knot of hair and was tied in the middle. The hair ornament was made out of buckskin or cowhide. It had to be stiff. In my day they covered the hide with cloth. The color was usually red. . . . .
>
> The hair ornament was put on as soon as the girl was ten or twelve years old. It had nothing to do with the girl's feast [puberty rite]. There was no ceremony connected with it that I know of. The mother would make it. The only thing I know about it is that they said anyone who had the hair done up that way would have very long hair, for it would grow long while it was done up that way. They told this to the little girls, and it was generally true. [301] [852]

One of the earliest tasks given the little girl is the care of still younger members of the family. She is also instructed in the use of the tumpline and is expected to help bring in wood and water. 868 857

These simple household tasks are supposed to be shared by children of both sexes, but the boy is hardly old enough to be of appreciable assistance when he senses the sexual division of labor: "After my father was gone I worked a little around the house, getting wood, carrying water, and helping my mother. I was ashamed to do that though. It was woman's work. The other boys used to pass by and see me and make fun of me." It is not long before the boy has to be released entirely from such duties to follow his companions in their training and sports. But the girl is encouraged to continue and intensify her interest in household affairs.

However, like the boy, she must train herself to be strong and vigorous. She is told to rise early, to run often, and to shun no hard work. Tales are frequently told of girls so fleet that they rival boys in races. Such swiftness and strength are necessary, for girls must be able to get quickly to safety in case of attack on the camp. 866 868 526

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868 the camp. Girls who are good runners even aid boys and adults
526 in one form of hunting, the rabbit surround. All close in on a
224 circular area, beating the brush to drive the rabbits toward the center and club or shoot them.

868 But the young girl's principal concern is to assist the women in those tasks not beyond her strength and to receive continual instruction from them. They indicate to her the plants useful for food, artifacts, and medicine and teach her to gather materials and to dry, store, and prepare them. "A girl is taught to sew moccasins, weave baskets, make clothing, and cook. Her mother and grandmother begin to teach her as soon as she is old enough to understand, and by the time she is fifteen she is well educated."

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MATURATION

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During these events, women of the adolescent girl's family have brought baskets of fruit and nuts to the rear of the hide upon which she has stood. They throw these presents upon the hide, and a scramble ensues. Thus the cycle which began when the pollen footprints were drawn has been completed symbolically; the fruits have followed the pollen and the season of growth. In the good-natured din and confusion the girl and her attendant retire. The girl has custody of the singer's rattle until evening. It is noon before this opening ritual is concluded, and more food is now distributed.

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The afternoon is devoted to social activities—dancing in the open space to the east of the ceremonial structure, singing, racing, and visiting. Men gather at the hoop-and-pole ground, while the women play the stave game. The girl's parents move about among their guests, and grateful visitors seek them out to comment upon their hospitality and "to say they are thankful that this daughter has grown up to have the ceremony." "The feast-givers are shown respect, and all obey them. Nobody ever breaks this rule."

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Ordinarily, the girl's ritual obligations are over until evening, but she may be requested to treat the very young during the day:

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The Chiricahua believe that it is good luck for a child or a baby if a girl who is White Painted Woman lifts it up. At any time during the ceremony the girl can take a very young child, pick it up under the arms, and hold it to the directions. This is done to give the child long life and good luck.

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She also helps the infirm:

If your arm is crooked, go to the girl at the time of the ceremony. She can work it and make it straight. She picks up children by the neck too. It is good for them. They tell me to let one of the girls work on me. [This man has a crippled arm.] I go there, but there are lots of people in there, and I back out every time.

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In the late afternoon of the first day the adolescent girl or the singer, using a fire drill, lights a fire in the ceremonial structure. This fire is to be kept alive during the course of the ritual or, at least, during the nights. Sometime in the afternoon a great pile of firewood is stacked to the north side of the ceremonial structure. This will be used for the fire around which the masked dancers will perform.

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Now that the people lead a more settled life and raise stock, there is a real need for dogs, and the feeling against touching them no longer exists. But they are still regarded with some suspicion. "It is not liked if a dog sits on his haunches before you, looking the other way. It's a bad sign. For some reason, dogs are not allowed around the hoop-and-pole game grounds either."

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Snake."—There is, of course, some danger of bites from rattlesnakes, but it is not this alone that is feared. The bite, in fact, is treated ceremonially like any other manifestation of snake sickness. When a snake is accidentally encountered, it is accorded the greatest respect and is referred to by a relationship term:

If a person who does not "know" Snake sees one, he says, "My mother's father, don't bother me! I'm a poor man. Go where I can't see you. Keep out of my path."

You always want to be patient with the snake, and whenever you happen upon one you want to give it good words. Say, "I want to be friends with you, so you must not do anything to hurt me." Whenever you talk to it, say, "My mother's mother, I don't want to see you anywhere I go. You must stay out of my way. You must remain in the ground. There are many people on this earth traveling everywhere."

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It is not surprising that the snake, which sloughs its skin, should be held accountable for serious skin ailments of all kinds:

Snakes have evil influence. The snake has the power to make you sick if you handle him. He causes your skin to peel. The snake is an animal, but at the same time he has a superhatural influence about him that is very bad and very powerful. All snakes are classed the same way.

We are not so much afraid of the snake as we are of the owl or the coyote which we can't fight back. But we don't like to handle snakes or the shed skin of a snake. It causes sores on the inside of the lips, on the hands, and on the skin all over the body. Sometimes blisters break out. It might cause this right away or sometime later.

Swelling appears as a symptom in a specific case of snake sickness:

"The eel is called by the same name as the snake and is classified with the snake.

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A man must not only be able to make arrows but to use them effectively. In times of peace he keeps in practice by frequent competitions with his fellows. "If a man is expert, he can shoot one arrow, then shoot two more into the air before the first one comes down." Significant personal differences are found in the ability to make and handle bows and arrows. Some men are acclaimed as experts; others are credited with fair performance; while still others are rated decidedly below average.

The quiver and the bow cover are usually made at the same time and of the same material; they are always attached and are both called by the same term, literally "arrow container." Mountain lion skin is the favorite material for the quiver because it is thought that "it makes a man lucky." The fur and the tail are left on, and the finished product is called "quiver with tail." Deer, antelope, otter, and wildcat pelts, with the fur either scraped off or left on, are also used for quivers. Recently hides of cattle and horses have been used, usually without the fur. One informant asserted that the skin of a fetal calf makes a good quiver.

The man cuts a wristguard out of rawhide for himself. This laces up the back of the left wrist and has a projecting piece which protects his hand against the impact of the bowstring.

For a spear a man selects a sotol stalk or a young spruce, scrapes and dries the wood, and sharpens and fire-hardens the tip. Such spears are about seven feet long. The shaft is usually painted in one or more colors, and two eagle feathers are attached near the point. After contact with Europeans, metal knives and bayonets were inserted to make a still more deadly weapon. In battle the spear is never hurled, and it is used by the warrior only when he is on foot.

The round hide shield is connected as much with ceremonialism as with actual defense. It, too, may be a recent acquisition:

> Just those with power have them. The man with power prepares these hides himself. He uses the hide from the shoulder region of the animal. He makes it just big enough to protect his chest and face.
>
> First he takes the hide off. Then he scrapes all the flesh from it. He does this with a knife, a steel knife. (They made this shield only from the time they had steel knives and not before.)

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All other illustrations secured lack this feature, however. A small pipe cut with a knife from soft limestone was described by another informant. Since this pipe resembles the modern American pipe and must be made with a metal knife, it is probably a more recent type. As a less durable approximation to the tubular clay pipe, blades of the broad-leafed yucca are rolled into the same shape and are used as long as they last. One informant said that he has also seen a length of reed filled with tobacco and smoked.

SPORTS AND GAMES OF ADULTS

Games and sports comprise much of adult recreation. The various arrow games already described in the section on children's pastimes—shooting for distance or for accuracy, sliding arrows, and the play which has been likened to blind man's buff—are popular with grownups as well. Men also play the bone or "heads and tails" game and the marble games.[4]

Competitions in tug-of-war and wrestling are frequently arranged. A variant of the usual tug-of-war is to fasten a rawhide rope around the waist of a very strong man. Three others hold the free end of the rope, along which knots have been tied to afford them a grip. The man to whom the rope is fastened is further handicapped by having a fourth member of the opposition attempt to hold him down. If he manages to arise, nevertheless, and to drag forward the three who are bracing themselves at the other end of the rope, he is the winner.

Keen interest is manifested in wrestling:

> We wrestle a great deal. Some men are expert and are just like professionals. They even wrestle with men from other tribes who come here. Big sums are bet. The wrestlers start by holding each other around the middle. After they begin, tripping, twisting the arm, or anything is allowed. When one man is under the other, it ends. It doesn't matter which part of his body touches, as long as one man is off his feet and the other man is on top. Sometimes it lasts for hours.

Most contests of chance and skill involve gambling, and it behooves anyone who wagers seriously to have his luck ceremonially safeguarded:

[4] See pp. 50–53.

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525 There is a ceremony for luck in games and gambling, for luck in the hoop-and-
526 pole game, for foot-racing and other games. When a person has a ceremony for
777 any of these, he is usually a "professional." He depends on it to win big stakes.
Ceremonies like these are among the most secret ones, for a man doesn't want
[521] others to know too much about it and spoil his luck. You can get a man to talk
about anything but this and witching usually.

Ceremonies for luck are mostly in connection with racing, the hoop-and-pole game, stave games, and the moccasin game, for these are the big betting games. Singing or ceremony for luck is not carried on for the ball game or shinny. They aren't betting games but are more for exercise, although, of course, people bet on them too.

526 Foot races in which both men and women participate, constantly occur:

We have races for short distances in which women as well as men run. Some-
[804] times the women beat the men. Somebody paces off the race course. Instead of measuring by yards he uses steps. Two steps are like a yard; each time the right foot comes forward the man counts one. The track is one hundred of these "yards" long.[5]

[805] During the race the runners are timed by counting. Old men sit at the finish line counting as the runners race. Each runner has someone counting for him. I saw two of the best runners race when I was a boy. The old man only counted to eleven, and the winner was over the finish line.

At the start of the race they don't crouch. They stand braced. The man who is starting them might say, "I'm going to count. When I say 'two,' go!" Or two men might walk toward the runners with a string or a stick. When the runner is touched, he starts off. When we are camping in a place where we are going to stay for a time, we would make a track. We clear a path. This is used for horse-racing too. Cross-country foot races take place once in a while also.

541 Horse-racing and the ceremonialism associated with it are discussed by an informant:

Horse races are generally started with a gun or by shouting, "Now!" Some horses would be back of the line facing the other way; some would be on the line

[5] Another unit of measure, "one stick," was described by an informant: "We measure by saying 'one stick.' This is the distance from the middle of the chest to the end of the outstretched middle finger. Both arms outspread equals 'two sticks.' Later these were called yards. A step of the right length was called 'one stick' too. Later 100 steps were considered 100 yards. In buying a yard of cloth now we are really asking for 'the length of one stick.' The actual length of the foot is used as a unit of measure too. To measure height you take a rope or stick and measure the person; then you put it down on the ground and measure off the feet."

[177] Note that at least two attempts have been made to equate aboriginal units of measure with the American "yard."

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facing forward. Most face the line, but some are trained the other way. We ride them bareback. Women do not ride against men, but they do race among themselves. There are cross-country horse races too. It takes one day's travel to cover the course.

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Some sing for their horses. This is done at home before the race. Let us say a man's horse is going to run tomorrow. He is going to bet heavily on it. Then he will sing for the horse so it will win. Not everybody knows such a ceremony, but some know the songs. If you don't know songs, you might pay a person to sing for your horse. The same thing is done for runners in the foot races.

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Shinny is one of the roughest and most taxing of the games:

To play shinny you have to have a stick about three and a half feet long which is hooked at one end. It is usually made of oak wood and the curved part is the root. The one who is making it heats it and ties it around at one end and lets it stay tied for a day or overnight, if it has been made in the evening. The next day it will be curved and will stay that way. Some players carry a second stick, a straight one, too, when they play. The straight stick is used for protection. It is used to ward off the other fellow's stick. Some play without this second stick though.

They usually knock off a piece of round wood for the ball. It is about half the size of a baseball when it is finished. Sometimes a buckskin ball of the same size is used. Any number can play on a side. Usually there are from five to twelve on a side. But there has to be the same number on each side.

A flat place a half-mile long or less is chosen. When there are ten or twelve on a side, they use a longer distance. The width does not matter except at the goal. But at the goal the ball has to go between two objects, usually trees, to count. This is true for both sides.

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In starting the game they all march out into the center of the field. They just guess at the center. The two leaders meet in the center and hook their sticks like two boxers touching gloves. They spit on something flat and throw it up, and one of them calls, "Wet," or "Dry." The one who wins out on this can choose the side his team will play on. Each side scatters out and faces the other's goal.

The two leaders tell their men to get ready. They decide which of them is going to throw the ball high in the air between them. Or another fellow is there to throw it up. Players from the same side can be on both sides of the center to start, so that if their leader misses the ball at first and the other leader hits it, they can get possession of it.

When the ball goes up, the two in the center can hit it in the air as it is on its way down or wait until it strikes the ground. But it has to be hit with the stick. If I am one of these leaders and think that the other fellow will miss it in the air, I wait until he has swung and is off balance, and then I hit it from the ground to one of my men.

Once the ball is in play, they can advance it by kicking it or by hitting it with

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• 526 the stick, but they can't hit it with the hands. They try to hit it toward the other side's goal, and drive it across. They hit the ball any way, in the air or on the ground. Every time a goal is made it counts one.

The best runners always play this game. If they get away with the ball, it's a goner. Some get hit in the shins by mistake. There are no fouls. They try to hit each other's sticks when trying for the ball. They play until they get tired. They play that game all morning; sometimes all afternoon. Men thirty or forty years old played this game when I was a little boy. When I was just a little boy, I saw middle-aged men play this game and the ball game. Women played these games too. Some young women can outrun men. There were dangers in those days, and the women had to exercise so they could stand anything.

A popular game is one called "throwing objects in a hole." Two holes, each with an opening a little larger than the stones used, are dug, one at either end of a playing field about thirty paces long. Each player has two disk-shaped stones with which he throws for a hole. The stone nearest the hole earns its thrower a point. Should the two stones nearest the hole belong to the same player, he earns two points; otherwise only the nearest stone counts. To place a stone in the hole wins four points. If the player gets both stones in the hole, he scores ten. When two men each get a stone in the hole, neither counts. A third stone in the hole earns the thrower the usual four, however, and a fourth stone in the hole displaces the third, counting four instead of it. The contestants throw first for one hole and then for the other. The player to amass twelve points first is the winner.

The ball game, called "they who run" or "they slap the ball," has been mentioned briefly in connection with the play of children. But it is a game which adults enjoy as well.

If you want to see a really interesting game, you should see this ball game. There are two sides and each side has a captain. Each captain chooses four or more good, fast men. The ball must be made of buckskin stuffed with soft material, and it is about half the size of the baseball Americans use.

The players meet on the field and examine the ball to see if it is suitable to hit a person with. They mark out a big circle with a stick. This is called "he has come back" because a person is always trying to get back to it. It's like the home plate in American baseball. They are going to have three other rings, arranged something like the bases of the baseball field. They step the distance out to the first of these. It might be fifty or seventy paces away. They are not particular as to the distance. They make it the same distance to the second of these circles, and the same to the third. They are all the same distance apart. But these last

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three rings are not so big as the first one; they are just big enough for four or five men to stand in. The first of these smaller circles is called "where one stops first." The second is "one usually goes here second" and the third we call "one usually goes here third."

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Suppose I am head of my team. We pick up a piece of flat rock and spit on one side of it. The other captain says, "You toss it. Which side do you want?" I take the dry side. Then the ball is rolled slowly between the two sides. At the same time the rock is thrown up. We watch to see whether the dry side comes up. If it does, all on my side run for the big circle, and the other side run to get the ball and try to hit one of us with it before we get in. If they do that, they will get in the circle first. If the rock turns up wet, they are the ones to run for the circle, and we try to hit one of them before he makes it.

Now my side is in. The head of the other side will talk to his men and place them out. The pitcher is very careful. If one of my men is outside the ring or partly outside it he can hit him with the ball.

The pitcher must stand before the ring. He must throw the ball underhand. The ball must be hit with the open hand. Some catch and throw the ball at the same time when batting, but this is a violation of the rule. Some do it so quickly you can't catch them at it. To count, the ball has to go forward.

I am the first man to hit it, say. I try to place the ball so that I can get to the first circle before getting hit. If I get hit by a man on the other side who picks it up and throws it at me before I get to the first circle, as soon as I'm hit I run for the ball. My team, as soon as they see me get hit, run out and try to help me. The other team, as soon as I am hit, run for the big circle. If I or one of my men gets the ball and hits one of them before he gets in the circle, my side is still in and can keep on batting.

If I hit it up high in the air and a fellow on the other team gets under it before it hits the ground, he can hit it away, and all on his side run for the big circle. It's just like catching a fly in American baseball; it puts my side out if they get to the circle safely.

But, if I hit it and make the first little circle, my second man is up. The pitcher watches me and tries to hit me when I am out of the circle. If my man hits it and someone on the other side standing near the circle where I am gets it, I do not have to run. More than one can get in one circle. So I stay there and do not take chances.

If we all get in the first little circle, the pitcher stands there and throws the ball straight up in the air, giving us a chance to run. We say, "Throw it up! You don't throw it high enough." So he throws it higher, and we run. He catches it and throws after us. Sometimes you make a couple of circles on a pitcher that way.

We play the game all afternoon, as long as we want to. We can stop any time. We keep track of the number of "runs" each side makes. One side puts marks on one side of the big ring, one on the other. If we all come in in a bunch, we each make a mark on our side. Sometimes fast girls mixed with boys to play this

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PLATE XVI

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a MEN PLAYING HOOP-AND-POLE GAME

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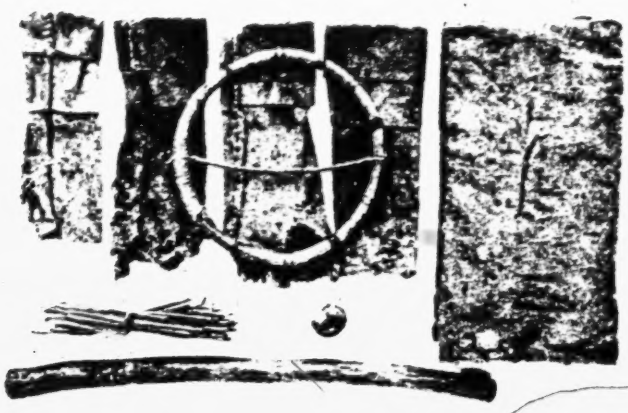

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b HOOP OF HOOP AND-POLE GAME; "MOCCASINS," BLANKET, BONE, STRIKING STICK, AND COUNTERS OF MOCCASIN GAME

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• 526 game. Lots of times they don't care about the score or the winner, but just try to stay in and hit the ball. This is just a pleasure game, not a gambling game, though a few might bet on it. This is a real old game. Old men seventy years old and older say it was played before their time.

The most important game which the men play is hoop-and-pole. It can be played only during the daytime. The equipment and the ceremonialism involved in its preparation have been described thus:

Different men make hoop-and-pole outfits, and they make them in different ways according to their ceremonies. But the hoop and the poles look the same no matter who makes them. If someone makes a hoop with the wrong number of "beads" on it, it is not any good. And the poles have to be exactly the same length.

The pole is sometimes made out of four pieces of wood bound together with sinew; sometimes out of three pieces.

Some men are well informed on the ceremony of the hoop-and-pole game. They are the ones who make the sets. They are the ones who play all the time and who are considered to have the best luck at it. They are always good players. 526 533 They have the hoop-and-pole game songs. They do not sing these songs on the playing ground, but, if they are going to play on a certain day, they sing the night before. They go ahead and talk to the hoop and everything.

[868] My father knows songs for this, but his voice is no good any more. I didn't learn them because my father said, "It's no good to learn one or two of these songs. If you mean it, you've got to really study it. You've got to learn all of them, and they take a long time. One or two might harm you; they might even kill you."

[424] The right to these songs and this ceremony, which goes with the rite to make the set, is handed down. Just certain people know about these things. It is dangerous for others to try to make a hoop-and-pole set or to sing for their luck, though any man can play the game and gamble on it.

526 The manner in which the hoop-and-pole ground is arranged and the game is played is given in this summary:

This game of hoop-and-pole is very important and must be played on a ground arranged in a certain way. You have to have a grass bed about thirty feet long for it. There must be a rock right in the middle and one at each end to show the boundaries of the field. The field is covered with something real slippery, like pine needles, so the hoop will roll. The ground must stretch just one way, with the long way running east and west. At each end of the field there are ridges of grass. These lanes are called "that against which the pole is repeatedly thrown." They act as a guide to the distance the hoop should roll before the players slide the poles after it. The hoop can be rolled through these lanes or outside of them.

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Only two play against each other at a time. When they start to play, one takes the hoop, and they walk to the center. Each man is holding his pole. These poles are long, almost as long as the playing field. One of the poles is colored red at the butt end. The one with the hoop rolls it toward the grass ridges, using an underhand motion. When the hoop is about to fall over, the men slide their poles after it. Each wants the butt of his pole to fall under the hoop. The butt of the pole is notched and marked, and each notched part which shows up under the hoop counts so much. The hoop is notched too, and it also has a knotted string tied across the middle. We call these knots "beads"; the biggest knot is in the middle.[6] You make something, too, according to the notches or the "beads" which cross the pole. All these notches have names. You agree on how much they should count before the game begins, and you agree how many points are needed to win.

The two men play from the center, first to the east, and then to the west. Only the winning throw is counted each time, and only one score, that of the man who is ahead, is kept. What he gets is added to his score and what the other fellow gets is subtracted from it. Men gamble a great deal on this game.[7] [525]

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In a real game of this kind you are not allowed to cross the playing field from the east while anyone is throwing. That's the rule. I don't know why it is, but they play it like that. And they don't allow any dog near the grounds where they are playing hoop-and-pole. Also it is strictly forbidden any girl or woman to go anywhere near the hoop-and-pole ground. Any woman who comes around will get swollen joints and pains in her legs. And it would sort of paralyze her. The women never come near the place; they go a long way to avoid it. If a woman even comes in sight, the men straighten up and hold the pole up straight until she passes out of sight. Women and children know where the ground is and keep away from it. There are a good many things to remember in this game. A man who is playing doesn't like anyone to step on his shadow. It makes him lose his luck. [753] [822] [777]

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Little material is forthcoming concerning the origin and mythological background of the game, but the words of one informant suggest an association between the pole and the snake:[8]

[6] One informant claims that there should be 50 "beads" on each side of the big "bead," making a total of 101. Another described a hoop which had 30 "beads" on each side of the big "bead." Evidently there are minor variations in the "ways" of the hoop-and-pole makers.

[7] When the trickster Coyote loses all his possessions in a gambling game, it is, characteristically, the hoop-and-pole game he is said to have been playing. [773]

[8] When M. R. Harrington purchased a hoop-and-pole set from its Chiricahua maker in 1909, he was told: "The red paint on the wheel and on one pole represents a snake. Two men were arguing as to who had the strongest supernatural power. Finally, one took a snake and made a hoop of it to show his power. Not to be outdone, the other took a snake and transformed it into a pole. Then, as

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The hoop-and-pole game was handed down from the animals when they were people. They used to play it. The hoop-and-pole game comes from the four-footed animals like the bear [i.e., the dangerous ones] and also from the snake. During the time the snakes were people they made the game. In ceremonies the pole is referred to as a snake. This is done in the snake ceremony.

The hoop-and-pole ground is as much a meeting place where masculine concerns are discussed and planned as it is a field of play. Here the men come together in easy companionship, free of the inhibitions imposed by the presence of women. It is little wonder that one commentator declared, "The hoop-and-pole ground is like a pool hall." An air of informality and good humor pervades the scene, and much jesting and story-telling are always in progress.

Often musical instruments, such as the musical bow, are played at this spot:

> There is something we do around the hoop-and-pole game. A man takes a bow, just the regular fighting bow, and tightens it up. He puts one end in his mouth and hits the string with an arrow. Men enjoy doing this and are interested in it. They can make a sound like Chiricahua songs. A man can do this anywhere, but you see it mostly at the hoop-and-pole ground when the men are by themselves and enjoying themselves.

Another musical instrument, made and played by men, is frequently seen at the hoop-and-pole ground, although it is not limited in use to this place. This is the "wood that sings" or the Apache fiddle,[9] a hollow wooden cylinder about twelve to eighteen inches long with one sinew string stretched over its surface. The bow is approximately the same length and is strung with horsehair. A single peg controls the tension and pitch of the

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the point was not yet decided, they devised this game and played, but still neither could win, for their power was equally strong. The people took it up and still play it, but consider it sacred."

Two other informants who were consulted, however, claimed to know nothing about a relation between the game and its parts and the snake.

[9] It is certain that these "violins" are modeled after stringed instruments introduced into the region by Europeans, but they have been made by the men of this tribe for some time now. One of the oldest members, a skilful maker of these instruments, stated: "We made it from the oldest times. I think it was the Chiricahua's own invention because it was common in my boyhood."

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Chiricahua

string, and the top of the body is perforated by a number of triangular or diamond-shaped sound holes, usually two opposite the peg and four or more at the other end of the instrument. The surface is ordinarily decorated with painted designs of tribal art pattern (stars, sun symbols, serrated lines, etc.), but, in addition, a scroll-like figure and floral motifs appear. Of the method of manufacture, this account is given:

I use any dead tree from which to make it. A good tree to use is the walnut. An older piece of wood makes a better tone. One end is usually a little wider than the other. The limb chosen should be a little longer than you want the fiddle to be. After cutting the limb off, I split it down the middle. Then I scrape out the inside of each piece with a knife. It is quite a job to scrape out these inside holes. Then I cut little holes [the sound holes] along the margin where the two pieces are going to meet on top. Now I scrape the outside and put on the decorations. There is no particular meaning to the designs I put on. Then I tie it together with deer sinew.

For the bow I use sumac wood. I warm the wood and bend it into place. I use horsehair from the tail for the bow. I used to make many of these for the soldiers. You play this as though you are using words and sing social dance songs as you play it. I used to go around here playing it and singing. I used to play songs in the store for the men on winter days not long ago when my voice was better.

Women are likely to be as engrossed in the stave game as men are in hoop-and-pole. Men occasionally join women to play it, but it is understood to be a woman's pastime.

This is really a woman's game as I understand it. I say this because it's a light game, a pastime for women. Women can't get out there and play with arrows like men. A few do, but not many. So the women play this while the men do other things.

Any man who plays this all the time is laughed at. But men play it once in a while, all right. I have seen men and women mix up and play it, play partners. Some fall in love this way. Mostly a bunch of women were playing it alone.

Not everybody can make the outfit. A person has to know how. There is power connected with it. A certain woman or man has to make the sticks and place the stones. Those who make them give these sticks to other people. The one who gives you the sticks tells you what to do so you'll have luck with this game. Some have songs they sing before a big betting game. When two sides are playing against each other, there is great excitement. Everyone wants to be the one to throw the sticks for his side. Valuable property (like mescal and horses) is bet. I never saw this played during the night, though I never heard that it couldn't be played then.

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• 526 The equipment and method of play are described thus:

[531] Round sticks are split and three six- to eight-inch lengths, round on one side and flat on the other, are selected. They can be painted black on the flat side, or a black or red stripe is put on instead. The round side is painted yellow or white.

On the ground they put forty small stones. They put down ten stones, leave a space, put down ten more, leave a space, and so on until the forty are arranged in a circle. The four spaces are called rivers, and there is one for each of the four directions. In the middle of this circle is a big square rock, usually (but not always) colored black on top. Each player, or a representative for each side, has a small stick to lay between the stones as a marker.

The player throws the three sticks on end against the center rock so that they bounce off. This player then moves his marker stick according to the score he has made. If the three flat surfaces are down, it counts ten. If they are all up, he makes five. One flat up counts one or two, according to what has been decided,[10] and two flat up usually counts three.

The players start from the east. If just two are playing against each other, one moves around in one direction, and one in the other. This is done if many people are playing and betting, but there are just two sides. If four are playing partners and there are two on a side, two partners go around one way, and two the other. But if a number are playing for themselves, they all go around the same way, sunwise. The idea is to get your marker stick around the circle first.

A person who makes ten gets another turn. Whoever gets into the water (whose marker falls on one of the big spaces at the directions) has to go back to the beginning. Also, if your marker falls in the same space as that of someone who is playing against you (not your partner), you pull out his stick and throw it to the beginning, and that person has to begin over.

There is a game like this played with four staves. The fourth one is longer than the others. The scoring is different for this game.

[531] A third stave game, played without the circle of stones, was mentioned by one informant. Three staves, each uncolored on one side and painted white, black, and yellow, respectively, on the other, and one longer stave, black on both sides, are used. These are thrown on a rock four inches in radius. The object is to make the long black stave remain on the rock and to have the

[10] Many variations occur as a result of agreements before play starts. "Sometimes we play that a person has to go back to the beginning if he gets in the river, but we might agree not to do this. The way some play it, your partner, if he gets to the same place you are, throws you into the river ahead. And some make the rule that, if your opponent falls at the same place you are, if you are past the first river, you have to go back to the last river you passed, instead of to the beginning."

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painted sides of the other staves fall uppermost. If the long stave crosses the center of the rock, it counts one hundred; if it stays on the rock but is at either side of the center, it is worth but fifty. Of the other staves, the yellow one counts twelve points if the painted side shows, six if the unpainted surface is up. The others earn an agreed amount if the painted surfaces face upward, but score nothing if the plain surfaces show. This game can be played by men or women but, like the others, is most often played by the women.

More tradition, song, and ceremony center around the moccasin game than about any other form of adult recreation. It is the only game with which a major myth is connected; it was the game played in the beginning of the world at the Mogollon Mountains when the birds were pitted against the four-footed animals and monsters to determine whether there should be daylight. The manner in which the game is conducted now is intended to be a faithful duplication of that first contest.

The moccasin game is played only in the winter and only at night, until daybreak. If they play beyond daybreak, they have to paint their faces black. The story of the first moccasin game is told just at night and in winter. They say, "If you tell the story in summer, you will see bad animals like the rattlesnake." You have to be careful about the songs of the game too. You can't sing them in the summertime, for a snake will bite you if you do. In the wintertime you can sing them in the day or at night. In the winter there are no snakes around; that's why.

Even snow has a song in the moccasin game. The people don't like to hear the snow song before the real cold weather. It brings snow, they think. They got after me because I sang it the other day.

Men and women join to make an exciting occasion of the game. Arrangements for playing it are informal. "If I wanted to have that game tonight, I'd say to someone, 'Let's play the moccasin game tonight.' I'd get my friends, and he'd get his. Each man wants to have good singers."

To play the game the members of the two teams gather and face each other on opposite sides of a fire that has been kindled at a level place. Each of the groups arranges a row of four "moccasins" in which the bone is to be hidden. "We usually do not use real moccasins for this game but just make four holes. After

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

262 some Mescalero and some Chiricahua did partake of fish.
[177] After White contact, horses, mules, and wild steer were added to the diet.

[825] There were many animals, such as the mink, beaver,
[224] muskrat, and weasel, which were not used as food but which were sought for their skins or because their body parts were
223 of ceremonial import. Birds such as the eagle, turkey, and turkey buzzard were shot or snared for their feathers or body parts.

224 Head masks were used in stalking deer and antelopes, and head nooses were occasionally strung in the trails for deer. Antelopes were run to exhaustion by relays of men
[223] mounted on fast horses. Oval bird blinds were built at water holes, and from them the hiding hunter would shoot the birds he wanted as they came for water. Eagles and turkey vultures were taken in snares set around the carcass of some dead animal. Occasionally a rabbit surround was held, in which old and young participated and shot or clubbed the prey. The ordinary manner in which a man hunted for larger game, however, was to go out by himself or with a companion, depending upon his knowledge of the habits of the game to lead him to the place where an animal might be browsing, and from there to track it, approach it without being discovered, and dispatch it with a well directed arrow or two.

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576 Every aspect of the hunt is governed by rule for the Apache. If he shoots a deer and another man is with him at the time or comes up at that moment, etiquette decrees that he step aside and allow his companion to help himself. The newcomer is entitled to the hide and as much of the meat as he desires. Ordinarily he takes the hide and half of the flesh. If two hunters come upon a third who has just made a kill, they race for the carcass, and the one who touches it
[526] first is entitled to the hide. Should both touch the kill at the same time, the issue is decided by a wrestling match between them.

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736 The successful Apache hunter must not turn away the widow or the needy woman empty-handed when he returns

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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CHIRICAHUA
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BOY TRAINING, RAIDING, AND WAR

883 868 147 •526 Shortly after the Apache boy reached the age of puberty, his relatives took measures to strengthen and harden him. They insisted that he rise very early in the morning and perform certain duties, such as driving the horses to or from pastures. An older male relative undertook the task of training him at this period. He might order the boy to test his strength against a young tree and pull it up by the roots, or to lift and throw a heavy stone. The boy was made to run long distances up hill with a load on his back and when he returned had to spit out water which he had been given to hold in his mouth at the start of the run. Often he had to race in this manner in competition with other boys of his age, and the one who lagged behind felt the switch of some older man who accompanied the youths. Sometimes these boys chose sides and opposed each other in strenuous mock battles in which blunt arrows and light lances were the weapons used. Foot races, bareback horse riding, and wrestling matches were part of a program as arduous as the boy's elders could devise. In winter the boy had to roll in the snow, and when the ice formed on the lakes, he was taken early one morning and tossed into the water. Often he was made to keep awake the entire night or for an even longer period, in order to prove that he could stand guard over the camps with the men when danger threatened.

702 868 883 Later on, when the youth was about sixteen years old, he entered a critical period of training, designed to leave him an accredited warrior. During this period he had to attend four raids or war parties, not as a fighter or participant, but as an apprentice and servant to the older men. Until he had fulfilled his obligations the boy wore a single eagle feather in his hair and had to be careful of all that he said and did. Moral laxity, disobedience, or laziness at this time would fix these undesirable traits in his character for life. On these first four expeditions he took with him a [415] reed drinking tube and a wooden scratcher, for he could not [271] allow water to touch his lips, nor might he scratch his skin [413] with his nails.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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CHIRICAHUA
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MYTHOLOGY

793 The most important Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache myth, and the one which has the greatest implication for Apache ceremonialism, is that which recounts the birth of the culture hero, Child-of-the-Water (whose mother was White-Painted Woman and whose father was Water) and his subsequent destruction of the monsters which were making the earth uninhabitable for humanity. Many elements of Apache ritual life are rationalized in this account. For [824] instance, because Child-of-the-Water used grama grass as his arrow when he slew an evil giant, grama grass is much used in ceremonial contexts, as we have already observed.

A favorite story cycle is one which deals with the travels and adventures of the trickster, Coyote. Coyote is credited with stealing fire for the people, but in most of the episodes he is portrayed as the buffoon, dupe, and violator of Apache mores.

Other myths are concerned with supernaturals, with the origin of games, with the disappearance and restoration of the game animals, with races and contests between different animals, with the mishaps befalling a race of foolish people called "travelers," and with a variety of motifs too numerous to list here.

GAMES AND SOCIAL DANCES

•526 [181] [525] The Apache were anything but a somber people. They enjoyed gambling games and social occasions. The men played a hoop and pole game which was connected ~~with~~ ceremony and which the women were not permitted to watch. Stave games were the favorite recreation of the women. Shinny and a game of ball not so very much unlike American baseball are also described. There were a number of arrow-shooting games, one game in which the the aim was to slide an arrow along the ground so that the feather would touch the feather of the opponent's arrow.
524 A very important game, and one which could be played only at night, involved the hiding of a bone in one of four half-

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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buried moccasins by one side, and the guessing of the position of the bone by their opponents. This is the game which it is alleged was played in the beginning of the world by the animals and the birds to determine whether there would be darkness all the time, or whether there would be day as well. In another Apache game the contestants throw rocks toward a hole. The one who gets his rock nearest scores most, and the player who obtains a required count first is the winner. Tug of war, wrestling matches, foot and horse races, and even the making of cat's cradle were numbered among the Apache's amusements and contests.

Social dancing was an integral part of the festivities at any large gathering. Beside the round dance there were two favorite types of partner dance, one in which the men and women, facing each other, first approached each other and then retreated. In the other partner dance, the man and woman faced each other and went forward and backward together. All of these dance forms were accompanied by separate sets of songs, the words of which were quite often caustically humorous and fixed with sharp verbal barbs for the young lovers who were dancing.

DEATH

Like all other Southern Athabaskans, the Chiricahua and Mescalero showed the most acute dread of anything connected with death. The corpse was buried as quickly as possible and the place of burial never revisited. The possessions of the deceased were destroyed, and the family at once abandoned the camp at which death had occurred. The name of the dead person could not be mentioned thereafter. Those who prepared the body for burial burned or discarded the clothes worn on the occasion. Close relatives of the deceased cut their hair as a mark of mourning. The ghosts of Apache who were sorcerers in life turned to owls, and the Chiricahua and Mescalero disliked nothing so much as to hear an owl hoot close by.[8]

8. For details of this concept and its implications, see Opler (20).